20c DECEMBER 24, 1951

Kefauver—Coonskin Candidate—page 15

New Republic

Tax Thieves of 1951—

Who are the true villains?

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Letters

The 1952 Campaign

● I wish to urge national consideration for Gov. Earl Warren of California for President.

I am a staunch New Deal Democrat, but I have no qualms of conscience about crossing party lines to support this honest, liberal and level-headed Republican. His platform, which he announced in San Diego a short while ago, is completely liberal. No independent or liberal need fear any backward conservatism from him. He believes in continued support of the UN, a state health-insurance plan and numerous other liberal policies.

Let's forget our party lines and support a candidate who will not involve us in unnecessary international dilemmas (I don't mean the Korean War by this), who will restore some of our lost ethics in government, and will give us a good, liberal domestic policy. That candidate is Earl Warren.

Santa Barbara, Calif. LESTER L. KUMP

● Dwight David Eisenhower is a natural for President in 1952; he would sweep the country on either ticket. Here is why: he is colorful, he has a great "personality," he has a universal appeal, he is today the most popular American in the free world. To win, the GOP candidate must attract the Democratic and independent voters. The latest survey (November, 1951) shows there are 22 million Democrats, 17.5 million Republicans and 15.5 million independents, and "Ike" will draw more independent votes than any other candidate for President. But that is not all. "Ike" is personally acquainted with the leaders of Europe. He has the know-how and knows the score in Europe and Asia. Yes, sir, "Ike" is our *one best* bet.

Waukegan, Ill. G. EDWARD LIND

● Who has earned the best right to be standard-bearer for the Republicans in 1952? Undoubtedly it is Senator Taft. As compared with the claims of the other outstanding competitor, General Eisenhower, these are the reasons why Senator Taft should be—and I think, will be—preferred:

1. Taft's position on all leading domestic and foreign issues has been revealed by his votes in the Senate, by his speeches in the Senate and elsewhere, and in his book, *A Foreign Policy for Americans*. Where does General Eisenhower stand? We just do not know. And we can never know except in so far as he chooses to reveal it prior to the election. On the other hand, Senator Taft's position has been clarified under a barrage of questioning and criticism.

2. As first among equals in the Republican representation in the Senate, an important part is bound to be delegated to Taft in framing Republican policy for the years, 1953-56. Would it not be wise to make him chief executant of that policy? On the other hand, we do not know whether General Eisenhower stands for the Republican or Democratic point of view. It has been stated, without contradiction by the General, that he would prefer to be nominated by both parties. If this should be, he will be pledged to carry out contradictory platforms, which he must reconcile according to his own judgment. In a word, he must and will be a political dictator.

Both the editor and a correspondent of the *NR*, issue of November 26, appear to me to be discussing the Presidential election and not the primaries. Thus the editor explains why the Senator is not acceptable as President of the United States, and Alvin Johnson states what he deems to be sufficient reasons why Eisenhower should be our next President. Such remarks will be pertinent if General Eisenhower should be nominated as the Republican candidate, but what we are now considering are the claims of Eisenhower and Taft as competing for the right to represent the Republican Party in the Presidential chair. Believe me, it is going to be a party election, for I cannot believe that the *New Republic* is so out of touch with public sentiment as not to know that the purpose of many will be to cast their votes against President Truman, his friends and his policies.

Berkeley, Calif. CHARLES B. COLLINS

Truman and the Vatican

● It was with some regret that I read your October 29 article, "Truman and the Vatican."

The Catholic Church has by its network of bishops and priests an excellent source of contact with "information valuable in the Cold War." The power of this system was felt in the controversy over federal aid to education. This is just one reason why the bond between the United States and the Vatican should be, and is, a strong one, and should not be underestimated.

President Truman, realizing the strength, both in membership and prestige, of the Catholic Church, has strengthened this bond, has taken out an extra insurance policy, by nominating an Ambassador to the Vatican. His reasons for doing this could, and probably will, be questioned. Was it to encourage our friendly diplomatic relations with the West? Or could the 1952 elections have something to do with it? In any case it was a prudent move.

The growing fear among non-Catholic religious organizations is unfounded, but yet unavoidable. They have for some time been trying to unite. They realize that any group of organizations, in order to unite, must have something more in common that they desire. Perhaps they have found their answer: their universal fear of, and animosity toward, the Catholic Church. These people should know by this time that a unity based on such an un-Christian principle, "is not long for this world."

Just about everywhere you turn lately you are confronted with the phrase,

(*Continued on page 4*)

Bandwagon

What's the Joke?

At one point, Mr. McKinney drew laughter by saying that when he came into the Democratic National Chairman's office he had made up his mind that "anybody with clean hands would have to go." – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

Smoke's Got in Your Eyes

I think our heavy smoking is partly responsible for our characteristic national jitters. It helps make us nervous about the Russians; it helps fill us with foreboding about our children & our work & our old age; it has something to do with sex problems & cancer & sleeplessness & indigestion, if my hunch is right. – *Harlan Miller in the Des Moines* Register.

And a Basketball in the Closet

"I pray God that the time will never come when the youngsters of America will have to go to bed without a baseball under their pillows and a football under their beds." – *Ford Frick, commissioner of baseball, as quoted in the Columbus* Citizen.

Dough-Si-Dough

Melchiorre even got credit in his senior year for an hour of social and square dancing, which consisted of attending a co-ed dancing class for 18 weeks. – *From a story on the basketball scandal in the* New York World-Telegram and Sun.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

AN EXCITING chapter in Washington's serial story is coming to an end. The Smiling Adventure Editor who presides over such things will write "continued in our next" to the Korean crisis, the Churchill visit, frantic Administration efforts to clean house, the impending Congressional return and the approaching election. Now is a good chance for lesser writers to recapitulate the story so far.

Twenty years is a long time for a party to hold office in America. Protracted tenure is bad both for the majority and the minority. The easy-going American public tolerates the spoils system (just as it tolerates paid college football players), and the "Ins" sustain themselves on patronage. After awhile the "Ins" grow slack and careless and sleazy, as they are now. The "Outs" suffer too in a more subtle way. They grow soured with disappointment and opposition unmixed with responsibility. The Republican Senator with longest service today is Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, who arrived in 1937. He has never seen a Republican in the White House. It is easy to denounce foreign policy when it is the monopoly of your enemy!

European parties police themselves because they stand for a considered body of principles and are better disciplined. American political parties are loose coalitions of separate interests. It is often hard to tell the ideological difference between "Ins" and "Outs." Twenty years is a long time to remember what you stand for.

The story of what is happening in America today goes back the full 20 years. Few people realize what startling social changes have occurred in that long, long swing of the pendulum. It has amounted to a revolution. Here are three separate changes: Trade union membership has jumped from less than three million to around 16 million. Again, social-welfare legislation—denounced by angry opponents as "socialistic"—has brought the United States almost up to the standard which Bismarck achieved for Germany 70 years ago. Thirdly, in foreign affairs the 150-year tradition of isolationism has been scraped. These three items alone constitute a bloodless revolution.

But after every revolution comes the counter-revolution. The pendulum began swinging back in the first term of the Truman Administration. It has found a natural leader in Taft. Taft would put the clock back in foreign, as well as domestic, affairs; Warren or Eisenhower would leave foreign policy, at least, very much where it is now. It is the counter-revolution this country faces now, we believe. Even if successful, it will not manage to set things back all the way to 1932. The real question is: how far will it go

It is true, of course, that in 1952 the Democrats might win again. We find ourselves almost along among Washington reporters in thinking this possible. Our artless contemporaries, it seems to us, ignore the GOP's sure instinct for self-destruction. The Republicans, at the present time, seem hell-bent on nominating Taft. They have a magnificent self-confidence that what America needs is another McKinley and that they can supply him. To us this just doesn't make sense. Republican regulars still delude themselves with the idea that if Tom Dewey had only dropped "me-too-ism" in 1948, he could have licked Truman. To us, the statistics all point the other way. Truman ran behind, not ahead, of his more liberal ticket in Illinois and Ohio. The Republicans lost in California even though Governor Warren was on their ticket. New York went Republican in 1948 only because Wallace split the liberals. And closely balanced Pennsylvania, only last month, showed the continuing growth of liberal-

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ism when its biggest city, Philadelphia, went Democratic for the first time since 1884. We cannot count the Democrats out.

Truman might still give the Democrats a victory by cleaning house. He is offering something appropriately spectacular. But does he have the finesse for the job? The kind of men who could help Truman most in his hour of need—Estes Kefauver, Paul Douglas and William Fulbright—Truman has quarrelled with.

This is the picture on the domestic scene. It is into this environment that the perceptive Churchill steps in a fortnight. Talking with radio and television men here we get the idea that he is going to have one of the biggest audiences in history; probably the biggest. There are now approximately 15 million TV sets in America of which 10 million can tune in on national networks so as to get the same image at the same time. Most networks will carry a Churchill speech. An afternoon address before a joint session of Congress might well bring an audience of 15 million; if the British astutely put Churchill on an evening show there might be a saturation audience approaching 40 million. The effects of a speech from a man of Churchill's parts to an audience of that size—or half that size—are incalculable.

Churchill, in his own fashion, could abate some of the hysteria in America over imminent war with Russia by making plain the substantially lesser fear in Britain. Britain is nearer Soviet A-bombs than we are and is quite aware of the danger, but is notably calm. Nobody can accuse Churchill of appeasement. A calm appraisal of the situation by him would help to unify the mood of the two countries and might prove immensely salutary to the United States. One thing is certain, Churchill isn't coming with hat in hand. He will simply state that Britain can't afford present rearmament spending and put it up to Washington whether to reduce the amount or get added funds to continue it. It is our choice.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 2*)

"separation of Church and State." One need only consult the history books to prove that complete separation has been tried and has invariably led to conflicts. What we need is not complete separation, but complete *co-operation*.

Here are two perfect societies with supposedly the same purpose for existence—the good of man. Why can't they work together? I think President Truman appreciates this and the sooner everyone else does the stronger we'll be in our fight against Communism.

Chicago, Ill. (MISS) FLORENCE CLARKE

Christmas and Korea

● Selecting Christmas presents for our relatives and friends is always a headache. We often find it hard to express our sincere admiration for these people through some material gift. So this year we have decided to send CARE packages to the children of Korea in the names of those people to whom we would have otherwise given a gift, and we have asked our friends to do the same for us.

In this small way we can all enjoy the *real* spirit of Christmas in the knowledge that some innocent child may be happier in this war-torn world.

Through the *New Republic*, my husband and I have become increasingly conscious of the direct and dynamic role of the individual American in creating a peaceful world. By directly sharing a small thing such as a CARE package, with people who have sacrificed everything, we feel that we are not only enjoying the feeling of real Christmas giving, but also know that this may help to speed the time when we shall all celebrate Christmas in a world of real peace and happiness.

Eugene, Ore. (MRS.) MARIEL J. AMES

"Triumph of Cowardice"

● I am in agreement with your editorial, "Triumph of Cowardice," (*NR*, October 29) on the shocking rejection by the Senate of the nomination of Dr. Philip Jessup. There is little doubt this will be a real issue in Senator Smith's re-election campaign in New Jersey.

One of the strongest reasons for Senator Smith's re-election was his personal integrity. He was one of the vital battlers for the Vandenberg type of bipartisan foreign policy. He was accepted as a student of foreign affairs and as such was truly representative of the internationalist viewpoint prevalent in this state. Whether or not there was general agreement with his views, he had made a mark as a man who did not hesitate to change his public mind and his Senate vote if his conscience dictated. To the New Jersey electorate, there was something remarkably appealing about this refreshing kind of public morals in a United States Senator.

Now the story is changed. Senator Smith said he retained personal confidence in the integrity of his long-time friend, Dr. Jessup, but could not support him because, in effect, of the malicious attacks by Senator McCarthy and Governor Stassen. Here is none of the vaunted integrity or the high public conscience. It lowers Senator Smith to the level of McCarthy or worse, to the level of the rich man's McCarthy—Harold Stassen. It will have a positive effect on the next Senatorial election in New Jersey, where there is much doubt as to the popularity of McCarthyism.

JAMES KERNEY JR.
Editor, Trenton Times Newspapers

Trenton, N. J.

Catholics and Change

● Gilbert L. Oddo's statement (*NR*, December 3) that "the [Catholic] Church has never compromised, never changed in 2,000 years," should not pass unchallenged. I could fill pages with the compromises and changes; in the most recent one the Pope admits "a regulation of offspring" by the use of the sterile period in woman. This after much fulminating and anathemizing birth control as immoral. . . .

The Pope is also admitting evolution and the creation of the world five or 10 billion years ago, contrary to the Bible, after the Church forced Galileo to recant the statement that the earth moves. . . .

If survival is proof of divinity, then all other religions, some much older than the Catholic, are of divine origin, which is contrary to the Church's claim of being the only religion founded by God.

Miami, Fla. J. M. MARTINEZ

"Educational McCarthyism"

● Supporters of Dr. Luella Mundel [dismissed from the faculty of Fairmont State College on the trumped-up charge of being "a bad security risk"] appreciate the aid she has received from the *New Republic* (*NR*, October 8).

The case is set to be tried on December 17. US Sen. M. M. Neely is defending Mrs. Thelma Loudin, who attacked Dr. Mundel with secret accusations—unsupported by evidence—of "bad security risk," "incompetence," allegations (!) of atheism. A favorable outcome may help to achieve a rollback of educational McCarthyism.

Fairmont, W. Va. HAROLD D. JONES

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VOLUME 125, NUMBER 26, ISSUE 1934, WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 24, 1951 New Republic

TRUMAN'S HOUSECLEANING

THE SPECIAL housecleaning agency which President Truman is setting up to sweep out corruption in the government has been charged by him with rooting out all wrong-doers "no matter who they are or how big they are." If the President's charge is taken seriously and carried out to the full, it will be a long assignment.

It is a credit to the good sense of the American people that they seem to be recognizing the Lamar Caudles and the big Jim Finnegans as the victims of a system, not the chief villains in it. That system—of soft government based on "taking care of one's friends" and the condonement of "deals"—operates in dozens of parts of the federal structure today.

"Fixers" like Frank Nathan and Bert Naster occupy high-priced rooms in all of Washington's swank hotels. They can be observed sitting around hotel lobbies and in expensive restaurants every day talking over deals, swapping tips and boasting about the top men in the government they can influence.

The number of Washington lawyers, who admittedly spend their time in arranging "deals" as well as in the more normal phases of private practice is constantly increasing. Their offices are the fanciest and their parties the flossiest. Their wives can be seen almost every day in the elegant hotel lounges entertaining at lunch for the spouses of government officials their lawyer-husbands seek to influence. The mink coats they wear helped to set that unfortunate style in the nation's capital.

The fixers and lawyers have sysematically sought out the susceptibles like Caudle in every agency having valuable favors to confer. Every one of these critical spots in the government structure needs to be carefully examined and the weak men found and replaced.

There are numerous places an investigative commission might begin. Whatever happened to the case of the war surplus ships which former-Rep. Joe Casey was questioned about by the Fulbright Committee of the Senate? In two years' time Casey and his friends were shown to have built personal investments of $100,000 up into an equity of $2.8 million by finagling ships between Panama and the US. Somewhere in the US Maritime Commission there must have been persons privy to these deals. The Maritime Commission should be gone over with an investigative magnifying glass.

So should the Civil Aeronautics Board. At what spots in this delicate regulatory agency have the influence pressures been applied? How much friendship has gone into decisions regarding mergers and franchises capable of producing millions of dollars in profits?

The cloud of scandal which is claimed to be hanging over the Office of the Alien Property Custodian must be explored. Sen. Alexander Wiley (R, Wis.), for one, charges that the Alien Property Office has become a gravy train for politicians who are awarded fat fees for handling alien property cases. Louis Johnson, the former Secretary of Defense, and a big money-raiser for the Democratic National Committee in 1948, is cited as one attorney who has profited tremendously from alien property transactions. The nature of this profiting and those who have shared in any undue rewards must be brought out and those who connived with them punished.

The extent to which unscrupulous businessmen have wormed their way into the defense-mobilization agencies to influence the letting of contracts or the allocation of materials has not begun to be revealed. The findings of the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee and the House Committee investigating army procurement provide a starting point for a full inquiry into evidence of free rides that have been taken on the potential billion-dollar gravy train of our defense program. On one small production front, the supplying of spare parts for military jeeps, a House committee has found that the government overpaid 24.7 percent, or $305 million in three years to auto companies. Whose oversight permitted this?

With all that, there still must be changes at the top. The fixers, the influence-peddling lawyers and the weak little men in the government who have been influenced could not operate in federal departments headed by strong and able administrators. Treasury Secretary John Snyder and Attorney General J. Howard McGrath could not have been devoting themselves to their duties, or they would have known that something was wrong in their departments. Obviously they both should be dismissed from the cabinet. The investigations suggested above and other necessary ones will undoubtedly reveal other key officers who deserve the same treatment. The naming of a special commission to clean house in this Administration is a good beginning. But it is only a beginning.

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THE WEEK

REWARD FOR SERVICE

After six years of investigation, nine separate hearings and continuous trial before Senator McCarthy and the other pro-Chiang "China hands," John Stewart Service has finally been separated from the foreign service. His dismissal followed a complex finding by the Loyalty Review Board in which his innocence of pro-Communist sympathies was upheld but which, in effect, brands him as disloyal for having given classified information in the *Amerasia* case. To do this the Board shifted its charges in midstream, after assuring Service it would judge him on his political sympathies, and tacked its "reasonable doubt" tag on Service's part in the old 1945 affair in which Philip Jaffe, the leftist editor of *Amerasia*, received restricted information from American officials.

Service's part in that affair has been aired many times, and in each case he had been reprimanded but cleared. The type of disclosure practiced by Service is in fact universal throughout the government, and was in 1945 officially approved by his superiors, Generals Stilwell and Wedemeyer, in an effort to counter-balance the stream of false Kuomintang propaganda. Service, like many others, had authority to give classified material to the press, and although his judgment in giving it to Jaffe seems highly questionable to three old men meeting in Washington in 1951, it seemed a reasonable action under the political conditions of 1945. The apparent reasoning behind the Board's overruling of the State Department's clearance is similar to that in Sen. Alexander Smith's vote against confirmation of Philip Jessup—that persons in crucial government positions must be "like Caesar's wife, above suspicion." This criterion makes half of government officialdom open to dismissal.

The Board's interpretation of at least one witness's testimony was so twisted that the newspaperman who gave it had to ask to be allowed to be heard again. The loose fitting of fact and circumstance by which the Board arrived at its decision, gives great encouragement to Senator McCarthy to continue his campaign. If McCarthy can point to "getting" someone with Service's clearance record, what civil servant will feel secure after one, two or even three loyalty checks? The inevitable effects: a tighter information blackout from government offices; loss of what credit for restrained procedure the loyalty program has earned in recent months; lowering of civil service morale—still fewer capable applicants to fill vacancies created by their leaving.

THE FRENCH LEAD AGAIN

While there was never a doubt that the National Assembly would ratify the Schuman Plan, its overwhelming 377-233 endorsement raised the spirits of New Europeans discouraged by the lack of progress at the Strassburg meetings. Only the Communists and DeGaullists voted in the negative, a great victory for Premier René Pleven who unified the quarreling political groups in support of the carefully worked-out project to place the coal and steel industry in six West European countries under a common economic-political authority. Pleven's victory set an example for Churchill, negotiating in Paris with some vigorous critics of Britain's static policy toward the New European programs.

The sincerity of another vital partner in the New Europe program will be tested again: Germany must determine the realization of the Schuman proposals. Bonn, never as decisively for unification as the French, has lately been undercutting Premier Konrad Adenauer's policies. Its rightist element succeeded in postponing the second reading of the Schuman Plan bill until next year, over the government's objection. The bill's eventual passage will free European attention to focus on the problem of getting the European Army beyond the paper stage.

ZIONIST ACRIMONY

American Jews whose financial contributions have supported the Zionist build-up of a Jewish home state were given a sharp slap in the face last week, when Israel's Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion took them to task for falling down on the job. The not over-diplomatic Socialist has in the past clashed with more conservative Americans at a number of Zionist conferences, principally over the question of how much say foreign Zionists should have in the determination of various Israeli policies. The Israelis have tended to ascribe to Americans the view that the contribution of, in most cases, highly taxable dollars should be the limit to their sacrifice.

Ben-Gurion has now openly attacked American Zionist leaders, charging that "they went bankrupt since the establishment of the Jewish State. There were not five leaders who got up to go to Israel after the Jewish State was established." His criticism was aimed mainly at the smallness of the influx of trained American Jews, who are needed by Israel to offset the large masses of unskilled immigrants from North Africa and the Middle East. But his words easily lent themselves to increased misunderstanding between the comfortable middle-class Jewish community in this country and the heterogeneous Israeli population which is making gigantic sacrifices to absorb its rootless brethren from all the rest of the world.

RED HUNT IN BOSTON

BOSTON (NR corresp.)

A case of alleged sedition that is attracting wide attention in New England is that of Professor Dirk Struik and others, who have been indicted on charges of advocating, advising, counseling and inciting the overthrow by force and violence of the governments of Massachusetts and the United States, or conspiring to do so. The law invoked

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against Professor Struik, Harry Winner and Mrs. Margaret Gilbert was one of the flock of anti-sedition acts passed in 1919, just after the First World War, and believed never to have been invoked until the present case. Massachusetts has, however, just passed another law formally outlawing the Communist Party by name, as well as any similar group of three or more persons (*NR*, Dec. 17).

MIT has suspended Professor Struik pending the outcome of his trial. When Professor Kirtley Mather of Harvard wrote to local ministers inviting them to a meeting at which Struik would be present, the District Attorney demanded a state police investigation. A student minister in a Universalist Church near Boston was dismissed for supporting a defense fund for Struik—and his dismissal was attacked by the Greater Boston Universalist Ministers' Association. A committee of about 60 individuals, most of them college professors and clergymen, is seeking to raise funds for the defense of the case. It says:

> Without taking a stand on [Struik's] political opinions, we feel his indictment is a potential threat to the freedom of expression of all of us. Agreement or disagreement with Professor Struik's views is not an issue here, and this statement is directed to Americans of all political beliefs.

Among the members of the committee are Waldo Frank, John F. Moors, and Profs. Bart Bok, William Hocking, Mark DeW. Howe, Ralph Barton Perry, Dr. Mather and Norbert Wiener. The defense is also being aided by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, whose chairman is Professor Paul L. Lehmann of Princeton Theological Seminary.

GRAY STEEL

A partial answer, at least, to the mysterious channeling of much of this country's vast steel production is being supplied by a subcommittee of the Senate Small Business Committee which has found thousands of tons of steel traversing a daisy chain of brokers and dealers in a gray market scattered throughout the country. The full extent or the volume of this market is yet to be determined.

Hearings in Pittsburgh, Chicago, Detroit, Washington and Cleveland have shown that gray-market steel has brought fantastic prices, many times the prevailing value. In Cleveland, three companies alone have admittedly moved some 15,000 tons through the gray market.

In Detroit, a relatively small firm, the Oakman Manufacturing Company, has bought nearly 5,000 tons of steel from the mills since last March, selling it at higher prices through dummy corporations. Company Treasurer Nathan Freedland told the subcommittee: "We had to set up dummy companies to sell steel, because if the mills knew we were not using it for manufacturing, they'd cut off our supply." His dummy firms were all chummy family affairs.

One individual steel transaction in Detroit was manipulated by Harry W. Liebergott who bought about six tons of steel on one day for $7.25 a hundredweight and sold it the next day to the Howard Steel Company of Chicago for $14 a hundredweight. In another deal Liebergott and three other brokers purchased a consignment of steel for $5.95 a hundredweight for which the manufacturer finally had to pay $18.65.

In the Chicago hearing, Seymour Waldman of the Emergency Steel Service Corporation of Skokie, Ill., told of starting as a steel "distributor" in 1946 with a capital of $1,300 and of doing a gross in 1950 between $5 million and $6 million. He announced that he expected to do $6 to $7 million business in 1951.

Until recently this has all been perfectly legal, if speculative, as there was no ceiling price on steel. Office of Price Stabilization officials are now closely observing the effects of a flimsy lid they have just placed on steel which is "designed to eliminate the exorbitant 'middle man' profits that have been reported in the industry." The ceiling established is the highest price charged during the period December 19, 1950, to January 25, 1951. While this is a period which many consider almost as speculative as the present, some improvement is anticipated.

NO ADMISSION

A scientist and a legislator have spoken frankly within the last few days in damning the McCarran Act's "don't let subversives into the country" provision and its indiscriminatory administration by the State Department. The scientist was Ernst Chain, the co-discoverer of penicillin and director of the Microbiological Research Center in Rome, who has for the second time been refused an American visa. The denial made impossible his scheduled New York appearance in behalf of Israel's Science Institute, just as an earlier denial had forced cancellation of a projected antibiotics research project for the world.

"It is too ludicrous for words," said Chain bitterly after the visa denial had been made public, "that I, who have been largely responsible for the creation of one of the most prosperous branches of the American pharmaceutical industry, should be excluded from a visit to that country for 'security' reasons."

Chain's indictment of immigration procedure has been loudly seconded by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D, N.Y.), Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. On a recent European trip Celler found that the ECA had trouble getting visas for workers and managers in its exchange programs. It could easily get clearance for "gutless nincompoops or spineless jellyfish" who would swear to having never been Fascists or Communists, but not for able people who frankly admitted a complex political past.

Celler described the McCarran Act as "asinine," but more constructively, said he'd try to have it amended at least in so far as the immigration procedure is concerned. State Department visa officials seem to have enforced the McCarran Act with almost maximum strictness. Now, at last, top-level political officers at State are becoming aware of the other side of the coin—waning respect for America abroad. It is expected that they will override their routine-minded subordinates and support Celler's amendment move to make "the land of the free" a little more easily accessible.

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SENATOR TAFT'S BAG

ON PAPER, Sen. Robert A. Taft has the Republican nomination for President in the bag. The Senator's enthusiastic managers jot down states with numbers after them, and soon it appears that Taft has more than enough votes to win on the first ballot. But there are a few holes in his bag, and if all these are carefully examined, the Republican nomination is still a hard race. Pennsylvania is a good example.

Taft managers either expect to control Pennsylvania's 70 delegates, or they are playing a good game of pretending. This delegation could swing the tide in the convention as it did in 1948. On the surface, there is every reason to believe that Senator Taft will have the Pennsylvania group waltzing down the aisle to the tune of "Beautiful Ohio." Lining up John D. M. Hamilton as his Pennsylvania manager was a brilliant coup, for the former GOP National Chairman is close to Old Guard money and political power and is a very shrewd operator. A few weeks ago, at Harrisburg, a smiling Senator Taft was photographed arm in arm with GOP State Chairman Harvey Taylor, Republican National Committeeman Mason Owlett, and senior Sen. Edward Martin. A recent poll of 37 of the 67 county chairmen in Pennsylvania showed a five-to-one margin who were in favor of Senator Taft over General Eisenhower for the Presidential nomination.

Taft men take further encouragement from the fact that Ike's most vocal booster in Pennsylvania, big Jim Duff, the junior Senator, has an amazing capacity for making the professional politicians sore at him. He parted angrily with his protegé, Gov. John S. Fine, and, in effect, shooed Fine into the opposing Grundy camp. Duff, even at the height of his power as Governor in 1948, was able to deliver only a third of the state delegation to his choice, Robert Taft. Senator Taft is counting on the open support of Senator Martin. He is, after all, a consistent conservative who votes with Taft. Martin has remarked that he does not believe Ike will run.

The hole in this bag is that Senator Martin and Governor Fine privately favor an uninstructed delegation. That arrangement would give Pennsylvania a tremendous bargaining power in the convention. Senator Martin and Governor Fine between them can almost sew up the delegation. In 1948, Martin produced 41 votes for Dewey on the first ballot; 40, on the second; and delivered Pennsylvania's entire quota to the New Yorker on the third. It was all over when Duff announced Pennsylvania's vote. Other states then scrambled over each other to call out totals for Gov. Thomas E. Dewey.

Martin's and Fine's decision not to commit themselves has national significance. It means that an important segment of the professionals, conservatives who want a winner, don't consider it smart politics to buy a package now which they may have to sell in a year's time. In most conventions, the Martin type of professional has triumphed over both the county chairman, who usually does as he is told, and the rank-and-file voter.

There is good reason for the hesitation in Pennsylvania and in other "swing" states. The tightly organized Philadelphia GOP machine, which has literally delivered votes by the tens of thousands, crashed this year. Senator Taft is allegedly unpopular with labor, and Pennsylvania is an industrial state. The fantastic scandals that make Senator Taft look as virtuous as Tom Sawyer's half brother, Sid, may not be an issue by next November.

The story is much the same in Indiana, which is considered a safe state for the Ohio Senator. Those who have announced their positions, "big wheels" like former Gov. Ralph Gates and ex-Sen. Ray Willis, are for Taft. Sixty-eight state legislators say he is their man. But the real boss of Indiana Republican politics is noisy Sen. Bill Jenner, a realist. His rabid isolationism and extreme right-wing views would not prevent him from embracing either Eisenhower, Warren or Dewey, if he thought he looked like the winner.

The Taft people see Kentucky in their column, because Republican National Committeeman Jouett Ross Todd, a Dewey man four years ago, is outspoken for the Senator. But this does not bind the delegation. Even Illinois is not guaranteed to Taft, despite the influence of the Chicago *Tribune* and Sen. Everett Dirksen's management. At the last moment the professional Illinois Republicans may decide to split the vote.

Senator Taft's advantage today is that he is not running against anyone. General Eisenhower is still a gleam in the eye of enthusiasts like Duff and Sens. Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. and Wayne Morse. The professionals want to see Ike on the track before they put their money down. Governor Warren is a sick man who is not making an active campaign, and may never do so. Senator Taft is happily signing up supporters, but they look, by and large, to be his old friends of 1948, plus disgruntled ex-Dewey fans who have vowed "that s.o.b. won't get it again." In the absence of competition, the list looks impressive. But Taft's support in states that were not for him four years ago does not come from the leaders in control. There are exceptions, such as Wisconsin. Yet this could be overturned by a strong Ike boom led by Governor Kohler.

To be fair to Senator Taft, the tide runs with him today. He may look good enough in three months for the professionals to decide to throw in with him. They are not dead set against him. They just have not made up their minds.

TRIS COFFIN

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Outside America

EUROPE'S YEAR-END MOOD

The mood of Europe is much better this Christmas season than it was last. For although the seventh year since the end of the war threatens more austerity, it also promises less anxiety. Everyday life will undoubtedly be harder for the little people, especially the industrial workers and the fixed-income lower-bracket employees of France, Britain, Italy and the other European countries of the Atlantic community. There will be some measure of inflation, less and dearer food on tables, fewer creature comforts of all kinds. Political, economic and social conflicts in each of the countries may grow even more acute. In general, the practical day-to-day situation of the ordinary citizen is likely to be tough in 1952, perhaps even as bad as 1947, as both recovery and reform are more and more sacrificed to the needs of rearmament.

But against all this, and definitely outweighing its effect on the minds of most Western Europeans is the greatly strengthened hope that during 1952 the specter of sudden and awful death will not be hovering about quite as persistently and frighteningly. A tough year it certainly will be, but there is far less fear that it may be *the* year of *the* tragedy—the third world war.

If a single event can be chosen from among those which have most influenced the change in mood, especially among the French, the people who most needed a lift out of the slough of habitual despondency, it may well have been the return to power in Britain of the Winston Churchill-Anthony Eden team. The parties of the Continental Right exulted moderately in the narrow victory of the Conservative Party, the leaders of the Left bemoaned equally moderately the defeat of Labour, and in both cases the moderation reflected the realization that a Tory Britain would neither scrap progressive liberalism nor embrace the reaction for which the classic Right on the Continent yearns.

But for the great masses of Continental Europeans of all parties, except of course the Communist, it was the return to power of two men that counted, that gave ground for comfort and hope. Both Churchill and Eden are almost universally regarded as true friends of France; and though they are also true friends of America, even the anti-American Europeans recognize that in them all the Europeans, and the European idea itself, have sincere and able supporters.

Moreover, they are not only two men directly and personally connected with a past of glory and greatness transcending the other, more painful (especially in France and Italy) past of shame and ugliness: they are also considered to be well assorted and matched for the double task of the present—a stern and resolute preparation of spirits as well as arms and at the same time an intelligent and skillful use of a diplomacy that can, on the one hand, lift conflicts of interest out of the gutter of sterile invective and, on the other hand, divert them from the dangerous absolutes of conflicting messianic crusades.

For every Continental European who fears Churchill's fingers on the trigger, there are many who believe he has the will, and may also have the skill, to crown his life's work by throwing a bridge—if only a temporary one—across what Eden calls the "forbidding chasm" between West and East. And if any man can help him do the piecemeal negotiating, which for Europeans is a necessary and important parallel of rearming, it is the Foreign Secretary who dared to step into the Acheson-Vishinsky brawl at the Palais de Chaillot with an appeal for the gentlemanly conduct of the almost lost art of diplomacy.

Most of the Western Europeans have become suspicious and resentful of the postwar American practice of leaving much of the task of deciding how to avoid war in the hands of the generals and flag officers who would have to fight the war. Very few Europeans outside the Communist ranks believe that General Eisenhower wants war or does anything less than his best to avoid it, and the same can be said of Generals Marshall and Bradley and others. But it was the recall of General MacArthur that perhaps began the slow development of a real awareness that America —the government, the people, and even most of the men at the Pentagon—do not want war. The kind of American self-criticism that took a dim view of the *Collier's* special issue on the Third World War, of the circumstances of the Hanley report on atrocities in Korea, and of similar evidences of excessive ardor, also helped that development.

Paradoxical as it may seem, General Eisenhower's "re-examination" of NATO goals had a generally good psychological effect. Though he called for a speed-up to make a relatively small army-in-being by 1952 instead of a huge army on blueprints by 1954—and America's fast and furious timing is one of the European *bêtes-noires*—the proposal seemed realistic and sound. Moreover, a small army seemed obviously defensive; and besides, the "re-examination" called attention, for a change, to America's rather than Western Europe's shortcomings in fulfilling the rearmament program.

Then, the American approach to the biggest problem of them all—the relation of rearmament to recovery—turned out to be far less discouraging than Europeans had expected. In the period between the Ottawa and Rome conferences, the Americans gradually accepted a need for compromise with the European human and economic realities that suggested a modifying slow-down in pace. It seemed clear that, though Eisenhower wanted to be ready for a shooting war, neither he nor Washington expected one in 1952.

Nor do the Soviets expect one, so far as the Western Europeans can judge. And, even if both the West's and the East's disarmament proposals are manifestly inadequate, it lifts Europe's morale at the year-end to listen to perhaps empty talk of peace on earth and to witness perhaps insincere manifestations of good will to men. They are better than sincere ill will and real war.

PERCY WINNER

Paris

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THE TAX THIEVES OF 1951

VI. The True Villains

by Richard M. Cooperman

IT'S NOT excusable, but it can happen to any tax system. In Turkey, the appearance of the tax collector is a signal to wine and feed him, for he can decide whether to collect taxes from a town at the beginning or the end of a year. In the declining days of the Roman Empire the cost of bribing tax collectors became so prohibitive that many citizens went into exile to escape the taxes. In France today, the government considers itself lucky to collect 60 percent of the taxes it levies. In post-Civil War United States, tax collecting was so difficult that the government customarily settled for only a percentage of what it was actually owed.

The odor of something rotten in a nation's tax system is nothing new in man's time. But the current revelations of corruption, malfeasance, ineptness and negligence in the highest places of the Bureau of Internal Revenue and its enforcing adjuncts loom as monstrous swindles in keeping with the grossness of all our concepts today.

An index to the enormities of our world is easily found in examination of a few comparative tax figures. In 1914, a year after the personal income-tax levy was enacted, the BIR collected $380 million from about 360,000 taxpayers. In the fiscal year 1951-52, expectations are that it will collect more than $60 billion from 166 times that number of taxpayers.

Many tax rates are at an all-time peak because business and individual earning powers are at a summit too. Sixty billion dollars in taxes would come only from an economy of very high profits and very high wages. But with the cost of living and the cost of business operations high, too, the national mood is to avoid, duck, evade high costs—and high taxes. Get as much as you can, everybody is doing it, is the credo.

There is more ingenuity for ducking to be found among 60 million American taxpayers than among the one-time 360,000. As a Supreme Court decision observes, "One can read in the revisions of the revenue acts the record of the government's endeavor to keep pace with the fertility of invention whereby taxpayers had contrived to keep the larger benefits of ownership and be relieved of the attendant burdens."

Avoiding taxes and evading taxes are two very different things in the complex parlances of tax law. Taxpayers the world 'round practice both. The difference between these two terms as the late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes saw it was: "The law draws a line, a case is on one side of it or the other." Holmes went on to say that tax avoidance "if on the safe side is none the worse legally [because] a party has availed himself to the full of what the law permits. When an act is condemned as evasion, what is meant is that it is on the wrong side. . . ."

Many taxpayers today have rationalized Holmes's doctrine to suit their own convenience. To avoid tax liability, a man about to receive a $50,000 bonus from his firm may persuade his company to spread the payments of the sum over 10 years. In this manner, he subjects only $5,000 a year, for 10 years, to taxation. Thus the tax bite is less than it would be on a $50,000 chunk added to his regular income in a single year.

There is a tendency for tax attorneys and accountants to create legal situations whereby monies received by their clients are made to look as though they are a result of capital gains rather than normal income. This devide can substantially reduce taxes since income-tax rates, designed to reach regular income from investment or labor, are much higher than capital-gains tax rates, which are designed to tax receipts from abnormal sources such as profit from a real-estate sale or from the sale of stocks.

Attorneys and accountants may advise people entering a new business operation to incorporate, form a partnership, form a closed- or open-type corporation or operate as individuals to create the smallest possible tax liability. A wealthy man is advised by his attorneys and accountants to handle his personal fortunes and to write his will with sharp attention to current and future tax liability.

Our tax laws and procedures, like those of any government, are complex. Without professional, legal and accounting aid, it would be difficult for the tax system to function. But clearly, tax avoidance is almost exclusively a high-bracket game requiring the expert know-how of attorneys and accountants and usually played between these representatives of a taxpayer and the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Few taxpayers, even those with the price of one or a group of legal and accounting advisers, know the rules. And the little fellow who annually files a "short-form" or a Form 10440, without itemizing his deduction, and sends a check or receives a refund seldom plays the game at all. If he does, it is for pennies and not for thousands of dollars.

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Legally, and in the procedures of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, avoidance is acceptable, but there is no question about the illegality of tax evasion. There are prescribed punishments for those who are caught. Economic strata is no index to tax dodgers. In the words of one tax authority, tax evasion "will be attempted for as long as tax rates offer a sufficient reward to those who are successful."

There is no fine art to evasion. Some people simply never file a return; others omit or understate items on their tax return, and some transact all their business in cash to avoid tell-tale checks and bookkeeping entries. On the other hand, there are undoubtedly some lawyers and accountants, no credit to their profession or to society, who devise elaborate legal and accounting methods for their clients to avoid taxes. They may draw contracts in the names of dummies or figureheads, or employ two sets of books to dodge taxes.

Tax avoidance got its foothold in the US when World War I caused tax rates to soar. In 1924, certain malpractices of the Bureau of Internal Revenue got the full attention of Sen. James Couzens and a special Senate Investigating Committee. The committee did not limit itself to dramatic public hearings. It sent its own representatives into the Bureau's offices and assembled a staff of legal, engineering, accounting and clerical assistants to investigate and "report findings together with recommendations for corrective legislation."

The committee learned that Bureau rulings setting precedents favorable to taxpayers in the treatment of certain tax questions were not being made public and were known only to a few people on the "inside." Over a period of time, this practice established a special class of tax practitioners who traded in a knowledge of the secret methods and practices of the Bureau's Income-Tax Unit. It also created "a favored class of taxpayers, those who have employed 'tax experts'." The committee reported further that "special knowledge of secret precedents has created a demand by large taxpayers for the services of Income-Tax Unit employees and is the principal cause of the immense turnover in the personnel of the unit."

Revenue agents of the Income-Tax Unit are the very first people to deal with a taxpayer's return if the Bureau has any question about the accuracy of the return and the tax paid. Most of the remaining offices in this division are concerned with correcting the return to the Bureau's satisfaction. It is not difficult to see how in 1924, personnel in this division, having dwelt in an atmosphere of tax avoidance since 1917, came to change their values. They became "experts" with "inside" information on how to pay less taxes and offered this information to the highest bidders.

In 1941, our tax rates began to climb steeply as they had during World War I. The tax-avoidance business, dampened by the government which had zealously pursued every tax dollar during the depression, returned and boomed. Taxpayers, seeking a new source of relief, turned to Congress. Big-business groups succeeded in pressuring federal legislators to push a parade of tax loopholes through Congress. The Internal Revenue Act of 1942 set a record for tax relief for business. The Revenue Act of 1951 holds its own in the same respect, as did those in the intervening years.

The decade 1941-1951 resembled in spirit the seven years leading up to the 1924 Internal Revenue investigation it was an era in which the dynamic national political leadership of President Roosevelt set in motion the revolution of expedient disregard for old national habits. Roosevelt's liberal interpretation of statutes and administrative procedure for the purpose of freeing us from economic depression and winning a war, was perverted by officials at lower levels to tacit nonobservance or misinterpretation of the law.

In this climate, the ultimate deterioration occurred when political appointees brought the casual ethics of politics, business and law to high government tax posts. The general pressures of the times and the particular pressures indigenous to politicians were upon all such public officials. No wonder six of our 64 Collectors of Internal Revenue succumbed to the bribe, or the fix, or the influence peddling scheme, or the shakedown, with the resulting necessity of a cover up. The lure of money and social status is a difficult bait to resist, especially when you are a new fish in the pond of affluence resulting from a high government post.

When the head man of a tax-collection district office becomes involved in shady dealings, other employees of the office soon know it and emulate the boss. In fact, to carry on illegal activity a collector generally must take an associate into his confidence. San Francisco and New York are horrible examples of quick decay spreading through a collection district office like an electric current.

For years, New York and San Francisco lawyers have found that someone in the lower echelons of the collection offices would always willingly put "the fix" in return for a case of whiskey or some other favor. When the people at the top or near the top of the district office operate illegally, a second electrode completes the circuit with the electrode provided by the little fry at the bottom. The result is a flash-like spread of corruption throughout the office.

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Despite the corruptive activities of a minute minority, the employees of the Bureau processed 52 million returns and collected $41 billion in 1951. Nor has scandal touched two very sensitive elements of the Bureau.

In the 39 field offices of the Revenue Agents Division of the Income-Tax Unit, there are men who meet in conference with taxpayers whose returns have been questioned by the Bureau. There are also conference members in the Technical Staff, recently renamed the Appelate Division, of the Bureau. The job of these men is to consider disputed returns carefully and in face-to-face meetings settle differences involving the amount a taxpayer must pay. This would seem to be a prime place for a bribe or a fix.

Results of the current inquiry and what they have uncovered are difficult to assess. Politically, Harry Truman must stand somewhere in the spotlight of blame, if only in the glare reflected by some of his top-ranking administrators. His present indisposition toward bold cleanup strokes puzzles his supporters who respect his legendary political sagacity. His enemies have not yet moved to capitalize on his position, which lends credence to persistent rumors of a bipartisan deal to protect top-name politicians from the fate of a Caudle. Despite the performance which Attorney General McGrath gave before the King Committee, he apparently will continue in office.

The scandals have deeply scarred the BIR. Morale is low and tax attorneys complained as early as last summer about the slow-down in settlement of tax disputes. Conference staff men and Revenue agents have been timid about making decisions on delicate tax matters. The hot glare of investigation is not conducive to deciding for the government or the taxpayer, particularly when cases are similar. The efficiency of the Bureau has been hurt. Tax attorneys and accountants wish that someone highly placed in government would tell the thousands of loyal Bureau employees that they are not suspect, will not be investigated and can continue doing the fine job they do normally.

Perhaps the greatest speculative assessment is directed at Mr. and Mrs. Taxpayer. Political implications notwithstanding, how will they react at tax filing time? Has the shock of scandal in the BIR affected our self-assessing tax system? Even the Bureau shows signs of concern over this. It is noteworthy that with your tax forms this year, you will find a chatty "bluepaper" from the new Commissioner of Internal Revenue, John Dunlap. In a "Dear Fellow Taxpayer Letter," Dunlap asks taxpayers to be careful about errors of accident or intent in making out their returns and reminds them that Bureau field offices stand ready to help them with any questions they may have.

What must be done to square the scandal-ridden Bureau with the American public? Most citizens lack firsthand knowledge of its operations. Appointment of a Presidential investigative or prosecuting team may provide some drama to show the public that a cleanup is in progress. But the ills of the BIR are buried deep in its bureaucratic workings. Personal shuffling will undoubtedly help the situation, but much more is required.

1. As the Hoover Commission, Congress and the President have suggested, Collectors of Internal Revenue should be civil servants and not political appointees.

2. The job of a Collector of Internal Revenue includes bookkeeping, accepting taxes and other duties requiring no discretionary actions. He does exercise discretionary powers in levying tax liens. The importance of the job itself should be reduced to conform with the functions of the job. Supervision of the Collection District offices should be performed in the field.

3. Collectors should be trained for their jobs before assuming their duties.

4. Revenue Agents of the 39 Revenue Agents Divisionshould exercise less discretionary powers in dealing with disputed tax returns and should be merely fact finders. Discretionary powers should be limited to trained superiors.

5. Taxpayers should be present when their cases are settled. This would curtail the possibilities of bribery between a taxpayer's representatives and BIR personnel with or without the taxpayer's knowledge of the amount exchanged. It would also assure the presence of a third party at any illegal transactions; the participants might be reluctant to exchange money in a crowded room.

6. The Bureau's Committee on Practices, now virtually impotent, carry out its job of setting standards for lawyers and accountants and deciding which ones shall be allowed to practice before the Treasury Department.

7. If the BIR is closely examined by Presidential investigators they should note carefully that in 1948 a joint House Senate Committee found that "unnecessarily cumbersome, outmoded and wasteful practices have continued in the Bureau for decades."

8. Pay scales for Bureau personnel should be adjusted so that adequate salaries is the rule.

Even with these reforms, the Bureau will continue to be fair game for corruption so long as the American taxpayer calls the moral tune by practising tax avoidance and evasion.

[*This is the last in a series of six articles.*]

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THE COMPULSIVE DRINKER

by Bruce Bliven

THIS NATION has been shocked in recent weeks by appalling disclosures of narcotic addiction, especially among young people in our big cities, revelations which point up the necessity of trying to put an end to the illicit drug traffic.

There are a number of public officials and private authorities who hope that some of the indignation and demand for action engendered in regard to drugs may spill over into the cognate problem of the alcoholic. Without in any way minimizing the dreadful character of narcotic addiction, they point out that the compulsive drinker can ruin his life, and the lives of his family, just as completely as the dope addict. In numbers, so far as statistics are available, alcoholics appear to be far more numerous. And whereas the drug traffic is all underground, and the peddler if caught can be severely punished, the alcoholic can satisfy his craving on any street corner, in most parts of most cities in this country, openly and legally, subject to no effective restriction.

About four million Americans are in the group whose drinking habits are beyond their own control, half of them in industry. Every working day, 170,000 people are off the job for this reason alone, representing an annual loss of 45 million working days, and at least $1 billion in wages. The uncontrolled drinker also loses more time per year than the normal individual because of illness only indirectly connected with his addiction. And alcoholics have two or three times as many accidents as normal individuals; although they are only four percent of the industrial working force, it has been estimated that they cause 10 percent of the accidents, involving a loss to industry of perhaps an additional three million working-days.

That most of this loss is needless is shown by the good results in big industrial firms which have worked seriously and intensively on the problem. In the Allis-Chalmers Company, for instance, which has been a leader in this field, those with alcoholic problems formerly had twice the average rate of absenteeism. After ameliorative efforts had been in progress for some time, the absentee rate among problem drinkers was actually *lower than the average for the whole plant.* Here, and in other firms, a large proportion of alcoholics have been redeemed.

What is a problem drinker? We may accept the definition written for the World Health Organization which says that alcoholism is "any form of steady drinking which in its extent goes beyond the mere satisfaction of thirst, beyond traditional dietary use or the ordinary compliance with social drinking." More than 60 million American adults drink, and in addition to the four million who may fairly be called alcoholics, there are a large additional number—perhaps two or three million more—close to the borderline. Five-sixths are men. The statement has been made that of all soldiers discharged from the Army as psychoneurotics, 10 percent were compulsive drinkers.

The most authoritative source for information about alcoholism is probably the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies at New Haven. Primarily a research group, the Yale Center co-operates with industrial organizations, engages in public education, operates a clinic of its own and in general attacks the problem on every possible front.

Many startling statements about alcoholism have been made publicly in recent years. We have been told that it is hereditary, or an allergy, or a malfunctioning of the glands. The suggestion has been made that heavy dosing with vitamins, in the right proportions, will turn the problem drinker into a moderate one (most authorities assume that the recovered alcoholic must become a total abstainer). Drugs or hormones with remarkable effects have been described including antabuse, cortisone, adrenal cortex extract, ACTH and birth plasma.

But if there is any magic shortcut for alcoholism, the authorities at the Yale Center don't know about it. Some six percent of all moderate drinkers turn into compulsive alcoholics, and the authorities are not aware of any means which can predict whether you will be in the six percent or the 94. The only trait they are sure all alcoholics share is the uncontrollable impulse to gain relief through drinking from psychological and physiological states of anxiety and frustration.

The magic hormones, cortisone and ACTH, which temporarily suppress the symptoms of so many diseases, do the same for some of the worst aspects of alcoholism, including delirium tremens, and somewhat more rapidly than other medication. The scientists are not convinced, however, that these drugs ever do more than bring temporary remission of symptoms, as they do for rheumatoid arthritis for example. Many people experience such severe side effects that these hormones are now administered only with the greatest caution.

Some physicians have reported good results from large doses of vitamins, or other medication; but these reports should be taken with great caution. There is a strong

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psychological element in most illness, and this is especially true of alcoholism; the knowledge that some doctor is interested enough in you to make you a guinea pig in an experiment can have startling, if temporary, beneficial results.

For many years, "aversion therapy" has been used in American rehabilitation institutes. Under this therapy, the victim of alcoholism is given a drink and at the same time receives a drug that will make him violently nauseated. The idea is to set up an association of ideas between liquor and nausea. This treatment has succeeded or failed in varying degrees according to many other factors affecting the individual.

From Denmark a few years ago there came a remarkable new drug, called antabuse. It has the extraordinary faculty of creating a profound physiological turmoil if, while antabuse is in the system, the patient attempts to drink; the interdiction effect begins almost at once and may last four or five days. Antabuse is not a cure; when the effect wears off, the alcoholic, left to his own devices, will probably relapse. It has the advantage, however, of making possible a sober interval during which he can be helped both physiologically and psychologically. The second of these is more important than the first. For a real cure, it is highly desirable that the individual should find out what is the frustration, anxiety or insecurity (or group of them) that has caused him to seek to escape into alcohol-induced unreality. He will begin to be well when, voluntarily, he will select a way of life—physical, emotional and social—that precludes the compelling need of such an anesthetic. Antabuse sometimes has serious side effects, which appear to be reduced if Vitamin C is given in connection with it.

Why does anybody become a chronic alcoholic? While there are probably many causes operating in various cases, addiction usually begins with an anxiety state of some sort, whose symptoms can be temporarily masked by what alcohol does to the higher cortical centers.

The alcoholic is usually turned in upon himself, in a world of illusion; this fact helps explain the remarkable success of Alcoholics Anonymous, the value of whose work cannot be overemphasized. The compulsive drinker is aided in AA by a man who has himself been through the same plight. Such a person can sometimes serve as a bridge between the alcoholic and the real world. These circumstances explain why reproaches and pleadings by one's family and friends are almost always useless, and can do grave harm. The alcoholic can rarely be aided by anyone, however well intentioned, who does not have special qualifications for this work, which may be training, personal experience, personality or a combination of all three. Those who have been socially and emotionally close to the patient, such as a wife, a brother or sister, an old friend, are usually helpless to aid, even if they possess the qualifications mentioned above.

The tendency of the alcoholic to shut himself off from reality is so important that the authorities of the Yale Center believe that whenever possible, he should not be hospitalized or institutionalized, which separates him from the workaday world. In the Yale Clinic, a problem drinker who has a job is encouraged to continue with that job.

Group therapy is now being used with some success, as it is in other aspects of psychiatric work. In this technique, several individuals are treated simultaneously; they are encouraged to discuss their problems in the presence of others who are also in trouble, and to accept the comments of their fellows on their own situation.

Because of the work of the Yale Clinic we now know for the first time something of what the typical American alcoholic is like, based on a study of more than 2,000 of them. The common conception that the dipsomaniac is a "Skid Row" character turns out to be quite wrong. More than two-thirds have jobs, which they have held through a period of years; more than half of them are married and living at home; 80 percent are under 50, and 25 percent are under 35. An amazingly large number of really important positions in government, business and the professions are being held at this moment by men who, through their own confession, are alcoholics.

How is the compulsive drinker to be restored to health? As already suggested, the most important matter is that he shall recognize the need to do something constructive about his drinking problem. It is not enough that he shall, at some given moment, want to stop; almost all alcoholics at various times and for longer or shorter periods have wanted to stop drinking, and most of them have done so. This completely negative response is insufficient (except in some very early cases, under special conditions). The alcoholic will not be safe until he has faced up to the whole problem of why he began drinking in an uncontrolled way.

What is needed, in general, is fairly obvious. We need much greater research into the physiology and psychology of alcoholic addiction. Is it true, for instance, that there is little alcoholism in Jewish or Italian groups, and much among the Irish and the Scandinavians? We need really effective public education about the dangers. In particular, we need wider recognition that this is an illness, not a moral obliquity. The few industrial firms that have set about reclaiming the problem drinkers among their own employees have set a fine example of success, and one that can with profit be followed by many firms, throughout the country.

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COONSKIN CANDIDATE

by Norman L. Parks

FOR THE FIRST time since James Knox Polk crashed the Baltimore Democratic convention 11 decades ago, Tennessee is claiming serious attention for a favorite-son candidate in the launching of a Kefauver-for-President movement.

That the movement is of more than state proportions is attested by the national interest that has been aroused. The *Saturday Evening Post*, sensing the potentialities, has assigned a writer to travel with Kefauver on his current report-to-the-people tour over the state. *Life* covered two big rallies for Kefauver held at Nashville and Memphis on December 12 and 13, and other periodicals have commissioned writers to do Kefauver stories. Jack Norman, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, keynoted the Nashville rally, where paper coonskin caps were passed out and Grand Ole Opry stars kept the festivities moving. The Memphis meeting featured an address by Rep. Albert Gore, candidate for the seat of the aging Sen. K. D. McKellar. Boss Crump, the Dixiecrats and cautious Gov. Gordon Browning held aloof, but the drive is on its way in bandwagon proportions.

The flattering reception which Kefauver received on his recent West Coast tour and, particularly, the gestures made toward organization for him for President in California were the signals that touched off the Tennessee boom. Kefauver can get his name on the California ballot with a fairly good list of delegates in any case. And he has received assurances from leading party regulars of the state that should the President decide not to put his name before the convention, he would be the next choice of the Truman slate. Meanwhile, in Virginia last week a Fairfax County Good-Government group placed an advertisement in the Washington *Post* in support of the Tennessean for President. The leaders of this group, who effected a reorganization of the county's government last year by referendum, is anti-Byrd.

How strong the Kefauver-for-President movement might become hinges to a great extent on Truman's own intentions. However, Kefauver supporters are working to achieve two things: (a) a Kefauver "swing" big enough to help the President decide to step down; and (b) a delegate line-up strong enough, in that event, to prevent Truman from naming his own choice, who probably would not be Kefauver. It is common knowledge that the President has no particular liking for the Tennessee Senator. Kefauver has been a consistent supporter of the Administration, but only along lines of party, policy and principle. He is not a "Truman man." As the ground-swell on his behalf has mounted, he has made it abundantly clear that no personal loyalty to the President would prevent his challenging Truman for the nomination if sufficient support develops.

Though the South has been by-passed since Andrew Johnson's day and no Southern politician except Oscar W. Underwood has received serious convention support for almost a century, the 1952 possibilities are admittedly not unfavorable for an Upper-South candidate of Kefauver's qualifications. The floundering Dixiecrat movement would likely be crushed by the choice of such a Democratic nominee and with it fond hopes for a GOP-Dixiecrat united front in the election. Leading Southern coalitioners are privately viewing the situation with uneasiness.

Kefauver supporters point out other requisites of a strong candidate for the nomination in their man. As a one-term Senator, he has not been on the job long enough to provoke strong opposition. His popularity as chairman of the Senate Committee to Investigate Organized Crime has a substantial basis—much more substantial, for example, than Truman's as head of the so-called Truman Committee. Truman inherited his committee and the competent staff which went on to build him a favorable reputation. The Chattanooga Senator originated his committee, successfully fought to reserve the chairmanship for himself against the envious efforts of several veterans, and went on to put his own personal stamp on the committee's work.

The manner in which Kefauver moved to put an end to the committee is an important clue to his rapid rise on the political scene. When he felt that it had uncovered sufficient evidence on the syndicated nature of national crime to lay the basis for corrective state and national action, he was ready to call it quits. At that stage, the hearings were still enjoying the national spotlight. His colleagues, particularly the Republican members of the committee, were reluctant to let a good thing end while there was still political capital to be squeezed from it and worked to prolong its life. Kefauver's well-known progressivism is balanced with this less well-known moderation, which goes far to explain the strong support of the Southern Congress of

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Industrial Organizations, on the one hand, and his ties with conservatives like Will Clayton, on the other.

The Kefauver sense of balance was favorably exhibited in his race for the Senate against the invective and blasting opposition of Boss Crump. When the Boss followed his usual technique of destroying a candidate with a withering barrage of words (he called Kefauver a "coon"), the Chattanoogan humorously donned a coonskin cap and had the whole state tittering at Crump's ugly verbosity—the worst possible humiliation for a dictator. He resisted the temptation to make his campaign a ringing denunciation of the aging Memphis boss and won the grudging admiration of Crump's most loyal supporters.

Kefauver's strength in Tennessee was essentially popular, the professional politicians and behind-the-scene manipulators getting on his bandwagon very late. The Nashville *Tennessean*, for example, which throws its weight around both on the political stage and behind the scenes, viewed askance his early Senatorial candidacy ("Crump will ruin him with the CIO label"). His professorial air (he was an officer in the American Political Science Association) was considered fatal on the rural hustings. Nobody, it was alleged, could pronounce his name. The absence of partisanship was identified as lack of color. Though he had a weak opponent —Sen. Tom Stewart—Kefauver had to develop grass-roots strength before top influence swung to his side.

The prediction that the shift of his constituency from the small industrial area of Chattanooga, where organized labor is strong, to the state at large would bring a swing rightward has not been borne out by his record in the Senate. Surprisingly, he voted more regularly with Claude Pepper than with any other Southerner during the Florida Senator's last term. On major issues in the first session of the 81st Congress, their votes were identical, except on the Dixie-GOP cloture-rule compromise, which Kefauver supported and Senator Pepper opposed.

Kefauver carried over to the Senate his House record in support of Congressional reorganization, federal aid for education and strengthening the anti-trust laws. He resisted efforts to aid Franco, opposed restrictive amendments to ECA appropriations and supported the Welfare Department plan. He was genuinely disappointed when he failed to get a seat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee since he held foreign affairs to be one of his major interests.

The Kefauver-for-President campaign is not likely to be a flash in the pan. It has a good deal of the spontaneity of the Eisenhower movement. Actually, the Senator has much to offer that is found appealing in Eisenhower and some things that the General cannot match. Crime war has its attraction as well as the uniform. Kefauver has election experience, legislative experience and an intimate, friendly appeal to the man in the street. And by no means to be discounted is his store of political sagacity. When convention date rolls around, there may be a great many wearers of coonskin caps whooping it up for Tennessee's teetotaler.

HAROLD L. ICKES: *Precept --- Then the Ax*

So MANY holes have appeared in the dike of our confidence in our federal officials that many are coming to regard it as a sieve. Worse still, many are wondering whether there has ever been any probity in, or to be expected of, public officials under constant pressure to grant favors to social and political friends, to resist the temptation to profit personally from an official position or to yield to the blandishments of a generous lobbyist, who knows—or suspects—how grateful an official or legislator's wife can be as the result of the painless acquisition of a mink coat.

While the broomstick is being wielded—we hope unerringly and relentlessly—to sweep out from the dark and recently discovered holes the rodents that have infested them, together with their leavings and their droppings, it might be helpful to assure the American people, whose hard-wrung taxes have made these leavings and droppings possible, that the administration of "public money as a public trust" is not only feasible but that it can be done. It all depends upon the will to do.

Some of the few who still remember the Public Works Administration, for which the writer was responsible from its birth in July, 1933, until it was sent to the Federal Works Administration for liquidation in 1939, have been suggesting recently a skeletonized recital of how that administration was operated so that no hint even of graft or wrongdoing was heard during the period of the spending of about $6.5 billion of both Congressional appropriations and local contributions. This is not an imposing amount by present-day yardsticks, but it was a breath-taking sum back in the 1930s. It was the largest total ever appropriated for such a program since the beginning of the world.

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It was all to be spent by the Roosevelt Administration and, with few exceptions, in the continental United States by average American citizens who proved equal to the task of establishing their own rules and precedents in handling what they regarded as a "public trust." The record of the PWA proves that it is not difficult to prevent treasonable graft and thievery in government, even though a large sum of money is involved.

On July 17, 1933, shortly after the passage of the Public Works Act, the administrator made a statement which was subsequently heard in the moving-picture theatres of the country. He said:

The Public Works Administration holds this money [at that time $3.3 billion] as a trust fund. It represents a national capital investment. There must be no allotments for marble mausoleums or useless projects saddling recurring expense on taxpayers. There will be fair wages for workers but no graft and waste. . . . This money will be devoted to its purpose—to give work.

The following October 3, the administrator made a statement at a meeting of the PWA staff:

Based on my experience in the Interior Department, I want to say that your loyalty does not run to the man at the next desk; your loyalty does not run to the chief of your division; your loyalty does not run to the deputy administrator; your loyalty does not run to the administrator; your loyalty runs to the United States of America. I say this for this reason: After I had been functioning as Secretary of the Interior for some time, I found that there were certain happenings within the Department which I should have known about, and I began to inquire why this or that had not been brought to me. The answer was: "Well, we didn't like to go over some one's head—to tell tales."

I have no patience with that schoolboy attitude at all. We are here serving the people of the United States. . . . If you think that any one, no matter how close a friend he may be of yours, is doing anything that does not look right, see that it reaches the deputy administrator, and if he does not act, bring it to me. If I don't act, take it higher up. That goes for your associates, and it goes for your superiors, all up and down the line, because we will have to stand the whitest glare of publicity before we are through with this thing that any public body has ever had to stand in Washington. . . . " [We came through without losing a hair.]

Later, in a speech before the Associated General Contractors of America, on January 31, 1934, I said:

In one of my first statements as administrator of Public Works, I cautioned all of the world that no one need employ either lawyer or lobbyist or politician in order to receive proper consideration at the hands of the Public Works Administration. I said that . . . grafters and chiselers would be relentlessly pursued and held up to public scorn when caught. I issued this warning, not only once, but several times. Some people did not believe me, and some of these, as the result of their unbelief, have been hurt.

Item. I learned that an employee was boasting that I could not fire him because he had the endorsement of James A. Farley, Democratic National Chairman. It was after hours when this was told to me, and I literally could not fire this brash boaster until we opened for business the next morning.

Item. The Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, one Jackson, now deceased, had a runner in the corridors upon which the offices of the Public Works staff opened in the hope of picking up a little law business now and then for his employer. I declared the runner *persona non grata*: he departed.

Item. Federal grand juries indicted a Democratic Lieutenant Governor and a Republican Governor on charges of tampering with the Public Works program, but the evidence was not sufficient to convict.

Item. A very large order of gravel delivered at a project in Chicago was rejected because the specifications called for washed gravel.

Item. A cement contractor, who had built a quarter-mile section of the giant Chicago sewage project with too slight attention to specifications, was required to tear it out and rebuild it.

Item. An early Administrative Order (now a dead letter so far as former Assistant Secretary of the Interior Girard Davidson is concerned), was to the effect that no lawyer employed in the Interior Department might be permitted to practice before it for a period of two years immediately following the voluntary or involuntary termination of his employment.

Item. The discharge of an employee who undertook to lobby actively on Capitol Hill for a larger share of a general relief bill for PWA than the bill itself provided.

Item. Administrative Order No. 685 provides:

I hereby direct that all persons holding responsible positions in the Public Works Administration report to me in writing at the earliest possible moment any interest, direct or indirect, in any firm or corporation and the amount and extent of such interest, if any, in full detail. The report should cover any financial interest in any firm, corporation or other business enterprise of any nature or character, including securities and investments in firms or corporations. This information will be confidential.

Item. Refusal to give Democratic National Chairman Hannegan a list of names, together with home addresses, of employees in the higher salary brackets for the purpose of solicitation for campaign contributions.

Item. High faith was placed in the potency of a good example. If this failed, there was quick resort to the ax.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

FROM ANZIO TO OVERLORD: CHURCHILL'S MEMOIRS CONTINUED

by James R. Newman

CLOSING THE RING, by Winston S. Churchill (Houghton Mifflin; $6).

CLOSING THE RING is less interesting and less finished than earlier installations of Winston Churchill's memoirs. There is evidence of weariness in the volume; it is contentious; it is also hurried. Repeated sequences of directives, telegrams and minutes—though no one, it may be admitted, writes better (or, for that matter, longer) brief summaries than Churchill—chop up the story and strain the eye. The book would have benefited from respectful but vigilant editorial attention. Editors are apparently overcome when a Churchill manuscript is laid before them: how else explain passages like the one on pp. 465-6 where, in three consecutive sentences, the word "now" is used four times.

The narrative moves from June, 1943, to June 5, 1944, the climactic day on which "in an endless stream led by the minesweepers on a wide front and protected on all sides by the might of the Allied Navies and Air Forces, the greatest armada that ever left our shores set out for the coast of France." During that year several decisive events occurred. By concerted air and surface operations the once formidable U-boat menace in the Atlantic was brought under control; Italy capitulated; the safety of Australia, New Zealand and India was assured; Japan, "overstrained and disillusioned, was recoiling on her home land"; the German armies were driven from Russian soil; momentous political conferences were held at Quebec (Roosevelt and Churchill), Moscow (the foreign ministers) and Teheran (Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin). It was the year, also, of the preparations for *Overlord*, an undertaking to which Churchill devoted much thought and energy—not always toward its consummation.

In his chronicling of military campaigns Churchill is in fine form. The account of the offensive in Italy—the conquest of Sicily, the landings at Salerno, the Anzio "stroke," the fearful struggle for Cassino—is a model of reporting. There is more to it than brilliance. Churchill has sensible ideas how battles should be fought, and shrewd opinions usually why they are lost. Immediately reports came in from Anzio, he recognized that operations were being mishandled. The pause at the beachhead robbed the landing of the considerable advantage of surprise; the build-up of vehicles—18,000 were within two weeks crammed into a narrow corridor to serve a total of 70,000 men—engulfed the troops in the very machinery that was intended to make them mobile. ("I had hoped that we were hurling a wildcat onto the shore, but all we had got was a stranded whale.") To Admiral Cunningham, "C. in C. Mediterranean," Churchill sent an inquiry reminiscent of Lincoln's famous messages to McClellan: "How many of our men are driving or looking after eighteen thousand vehicles in this narrow space? We must have a great superiority of chauffeurs." Eventually Anzio paid off, but its "prime purpose," to weaken Kesselring's stand at Cassino, was not achieved. Not until a regrouping of the Allied armies had been effected, two months later, was it possible to attack on a wide front, to strike through the Liri Valley at the Germans' seaward flank and clear the road to Rome. Churchill had advocated the correct strategy almost from the beginning of the campaign.

Churchill's political comprehension is as usual less impressive. Chiang Kai-shek, who is "still serving the same causes which . . . gained him such wide renown," is sympathetically portrayed. Mussolini, we are told, rescued the Italians from "Bolshevism," gave "a new impulse . . . to the national life," raised "many important public works," built "great roads." Alas, he made one foolish "mistake": underestimating the power of Britain, he "took the wrong turning." Had he taken the right one "he might well have maintained Italy in a balancing position, courted and rewarded by both sides and deriving an unusual wealth and prosperity from the struggles of other countries"; he might also still be alive and well—fez, riding boots and embonpoint.

When Italy surrendered, Badoglio, the hero of the Ethiopian War, and his liege were entrusted with the direction of the state; they were treated with the utmost deference—a course supported by Churchill on the same grounds he had supported Darlan, namely, that the King and the Marshal were in the best position to swing military forces to the side of the Allies. Long unaccustomed to such flourishes of regard, the five-foot monarch so far forgot himself that his first broadcast from Bari was made in the name of "the King of Italy and Albania and Emperor of Ethiopia." ("How would the King like to be sent back to Ethiopia to be crowned?" asked Churchill in some astonishment.) Roosevelt was much more concerned than his two colleagues in arms with the establishment without delay of a representative government. "American public opinion [he cabled] would never understand our continued tolerance and apparent support of Victor Emmanuel."

It is impossible to forget Churchill's superb narration (in *The Hinge of Fate*) of his meeting with Stalin at Moscow. By contrast the account of the Teheran conference is a prosaic report. The conclusions of the conference—a final date for *Overlord* and approval of *Anvil*, support for the partisans in Yugoslavia, pressure on Turkey to bring her into the war—are adequately set forth; but the play of light and shadow, the clashes of will, the tensions, the underneath meanings are not recreated

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with Churchill's customary skill. One senses that he was tired; more distinctly, that Roosevelt's presence subtly disturbed him. Three was obviously a crowd.

Political circumstances compelled Churchill's assent to the cross-channel invasion but his heart was not in it. Without repudiating his commitment he strove for diversion and delay. At Teheran, Churchill "pressed upon the President and Stalin on every occasion" a campaign in the Eastern Mediterranean, with the Dodecanese Islands as the immediate object and Turkey as the grand "prize." If Turkey could be persuaded to enter the war, or at least to "strain her neutrality" by making airfields available, the Allies could dominate the Black Sea and open an excellent new supply line for Russia. The argument was oversimplified as well as precarious. The modest allotment to this venture of "one tenth" of "realisable strength" might, as Churchill must have known, have seriously jeopardized *Overlord* and the campaign in Italy. Churchill is a stubborn man and even now characterizes the refusal to adopt his proposal "as an error in war direction which cannot be excused by the fact that in spite of it victory was won." Yet inner doubts must assail him, else he would find it unnecessary so repetitiously to expound his case.

Granting the shortcomings of this volume, there remains an abundance of riches: solid historical fare, and the mixture as before of delectable smaller dishes. In planning *Overlord* many curious devices were considered: the "Mulberry" floating harbors, "Lilo" and "Bombardon" (ballast contrivances), "Phoenix" (sunken concrete breakwaters) and "Gooseberries" (blockships), and, not least, Mr. Pyke's "Habbakuk," a million-ton ship made of sea ice and wood pulp. These and other technical devices appealed to Churchill usually in direct proportion to their oddness; let a bizarre engine be proposed and he is ready at once not only to try it but to add a few valves and levers of his own. Churchill reprints his deliberately absurd argument as to the size and shape of the House of Commons (to be rebuilt after a bomb hit): it should be oblong so as to prevent a member moving through "insensible gradations" from Left to Right; he must overtly cross the Floor (an act requiring "serious consideration") if he means to abandon his party. "It should *not* be big enough to contain all its Members at once without overcrowding": on routine business the small chamber is conducive to the desirable "conversational style"; on "great occasions" there should be a sense of "crowd and urgency."

Before the Quebec meeting Churchill and his daughter Mary visited Niagara Falls. The reporters, ready as ever with a silly question, asked what he thought of the Falls. "I saw them," Churchill replied, "before you were born. I came here first in 1900." "Do they look the same?" "Well," he said, "the principle seems the same. The water still keeps falling over." On his arrival in Teheran, he was informed by Molotov that the "Soviet Secret Intelligence" had uncovered a plot "to kill one or more of the 'Big Three'." "If anything like that were to happen," said Molotov, "it could produce a most unfortunate impression." "This," Churchill observed, "could not be denied." Among other cameos are the account of a dispute with Montgomery (the story was circulated that Montgomery threatened to resign unless Churchill acceded to his demands; Churchill denies an ultimatum was given and then adds, significantly, "I should not have accepted such behavior"); and Churchill's version of what happened when he announced his intention of watching the initial D-Day bombardment from the deck of *H.M.S. Belfast*. At the King's personal plea Churchill decided finally to stay home; but not before instructing George VI by letter, "humbly" but unmistakably, that under the British Constitution the Prime Minister takes orders from no one. He uses the same occasion to deflate Eisenhower, who had objected to Churchill's going because of the "addition this would impose on his [Eisenhower's] anxieties": "This appeared [writes Churchill] to be both out of proportion to the scale of events and to our relations." It is by no means one of the lesser of Churchill's merits that while he may admire generals he retains a fit sense of their proper place and importance.

Closing the Ring, like its predecessors, is a book to be valued more for what it tells of Churchill than for what it tells of the period and the events it describes.

A TALENT OF MATURITY

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS (Random House; $3.75).

THE SUCCESS STORY of William Carlos Williams after a lifetime of devotion to both the practice of medicine and of poetry almost justifies the old-fashioned virtues that he has clung to in the changing values of contemporary art. Another transitional figure in the Middle Generation, and practically alone among the modern poets, he reminds us of the American scene of Dreiser and Sherwood Anderson at its turning point. "These were the years just before the great catastrophe to our letters—the appearance of T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*," Williams says here. "Our work staggered to a halt for a moment under the blast of Eliot's genius which gave the poem back to the academies. We did not know how to answer him."

He figured Eliot had set him back twenty years in the development of a new art form rooted in the locality which should give it fruit, and he was just about right. Ezra Pound's influence, too, from his college days with Williams, runs through this chronicle just as Williams himself—a blunt, sturdy and perhaps naïve figure that would not be persuaded or subdued—is a persistent source of torment in Pound's letters. The two men represented antithetical poles of the poetry group in this country, and their relationship, often comic or absurd, finally tragic and grim (Williams lately visited Pound at St. Elizabeth's and was still drawn to the paranoiac prophet), has a nice undertone of historical drama. In this sense, of course, the four books of *Paterson*, the publication of Williams' collected poems and short stories, and the present volume, are a final vindication of his divergent and unpopular point of view in a central esthetic controversy.

Why, then, do we hesitate to cheer?—

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since the *Autobiography* is in many respects also an admirable book. Williams was serious about his medical career. There are excellent sections on his early training in New York hospitals and first experiences with "my wonderful friends, the Wops of Guinea Hill" in Rutherford, among whom he was to practise for the rest of his life and from whom he drew so much material for both his stories and poems. Poverty, human misery and ignorance brought home to him at first hand the meaning of a social-economic framework, that sense of "culture" and of history from which so many modern poets had claimed to exempt themselves. From this area, as well as from his Spanish-French ancestors, Williams drew one of his distinctive traits: a completely flexible and frank view of the flesh, suffering and lusting in its most grotesque and secret passages.

The literary movement of the 1920s is at the center of the book; in the discussion of such figures as H. D., Marianne Moore, Alfred Stieglitz, Marsden Hartley, Charles Demuth, Margaret Anderson, Bob McAlmon and many other major and minor personages, the *Autobiography* is more direct and illuminating than most informal histories of the period. Williams, in his vacations at least, followed the expatriates to Europe, and he provides interesting side-lights on the artistic and bohemian circles of Paris. Yet to a certain degree he felt as "out of place, self-conscious and alone" among such people as he did at the large dances, drinking parties and charity shows he mentions. "I was a rustic in my own eyes, completely uninitiated," and again, speaking of such restless, devouring women of this society as Nancy Cunard or Iris Tree, he mentions the men who served as their counterfoils "from the piddling French surrealists of the day to myself standing in the mere outskirts of the picture."

Williams' talent developed slowly—it was a talent of maturity, perhaps, as against all the bright talents of youth that marked the postwar generation—and to a certain degree we have this sense of the outsider, the spectator, rather too limited, cautious and reserved, all through his chronicle. What we miss, at any rate, is a kind of bolder judgment and self-assurance on Williams' part, a wider range of values than he shows, and perhaps even a more reckless thrust of creative energy that would have put both the *Collected Stories* and the *Autobiography* into the class of major works. They are not; and what they lack is simply the style and the imprint of a free and original personality to complement what is, after all, an admirable but somewhat limited and even conventional mind.

Maybe it is unjust to suggest this about Williams' work on the basis of his prose narratives. (He warns us that "what I believe to be the hidden core of my life will not easily be deciphered" in the narrative of its outer circumstances). Perhaps, too, he has deliberately omitted, as Pound's correspondence did also, the story of his single greatest experience, poetry itself, and a final judgment will obviously have to be made there. But it is a shame that the *Autobiography*, good as it is, should leave us with a sense of disappointment, while our praise falls a little flat.

MAXWELL GEISMAR

THE REASONS FOR PERON

THE PERON ERA, by Robert J. Alexander (Columbia University Press; $3.50).

THE ARGENTINE revolution was not the usual South American version of musical chairs; it was different in quality and direction. For the Argentines, it has been a time of high drama and low comedy, but of these you will get little inkling in *The Perón Era*. What Robert J. Alexander presents, rather, is an ordered compendium of the facts: the subversion of the labor movement, the drive to control loyalties through the control of education, the relations of State to Church and Army, each in its sequence and chapter.

The book produces no surprises; its virtue is that it presents the complete record. It seems surprising that no one has done so before, but in reality Dr. Alexander worked against odds: the available bibliography is scant, the materials partisan in the highest degree. A great deal of legwork went into this book, and the author should be particularly commended for his report on the labor unions.

Alexander sees what other observers have missed: that the truth about Perón is not simple. The Argentine dictator has, in ugly ways, brought about social changes that were overdue. This book records the folly of the opposition, the bankruptcy of its policies and the genuine popular support behind Perón.

When this has been said, the reviewer confesses to a sense of disappointment. It is not only that the drama has been lost; it is rather that the meaning of events never comes clearly into focus. The book barely touches on Perón's fascist ideology, though an abundance of speeches and writings are extant to convict the President out of his own mouth. It shows little understanding of the caudillo tradition. And Alexander apparently did not visit the country early enough to know the suffocating pretensions of Argentine conservatism. This is a pity. It is impossible to savor the full irony of Evita and her philanthropies without having known the Sociedad de Beneficencia.

A country does not, without reasons, accept its salvation from an adventurer. In this case the reasons were not entirely political. Some of them were rooted in Spanish tradition, which is nondemocratic; some of them, as the author recognizes, were economic; and some were deeply emotional and therefore beyond political logic.

For the first time millions of Argentines have a feeling of participation in the social and economic life of their country. Perón's achievement is not less real because he is a cynic and opportunist. He wooed the middle class first; only when it rebuffed his anguished courtship did he turn to the unions. The currents he has set in motion are strong and deep. They respond to his direction, but neither he nor anyone else controls them.

Dictators, in their own way, reflect the people they govern. Perón embodies the revolt in Argentina against nineteenth-century liberalism and its abuse by the landed oligarchy. To the Peronistas *La Prensa* was more than a

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newspaper: it was a symbol of that class and that philosophy. Lashing out against the negative values in the old regime, they destroyed what was most affirmative.

We know that it happened. What American readers want to know is why. On balance, that is the weakness of *The Perón Era*: it is a surface narrative with but sporadic insights into the forces it describes. YSABEL F. RENNIE

Ysabel F. Rennie, a former officer of the State Department, is the author of The Argentine Republic, *a standard history of Argentina in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.*

BUSH TRAGEDY

MISTER JOHNSON, by Joyce Cary (Harper; $3).

ONE OF Joyce Cary's favorite themes is the impact of men of imagination on society: the creative and at the same time destructive influences which such men release and the conflicts in which they inevitably involve others and themselves. Cary's own insight into these characters is the mainspring of his talent. Too often the reader of a novel has only the author's word for it that a certain figure is really imaginative, is, in extreme cases, a poet or a painter or a composer. Cary's artists prove themselves. In *The Horse's Mouth*, for example, there is never the faintest doubt that Gulley Jimson is an artist, not because Cary says he is or because he is frequently described at his work, but because his mind works like an artist's and the reader sees it. For this reason the book is valid and important, not merely a rollicking, picaresque story of a dirty old man who painted pictures on other people's walls, destroyed property, threatened, stole and misused his friends without scruple. In *Mister Johnson*, written some six years before *The Horse's Mouth*, Cary is also concerned with an artist—a seventeen-year-old poet this time and a man at odds with two worlds: the world of the West African bush from which he sprang and the world of British civil service which he aspires to adopt. His ultimate tragedy is implicit from the beginning of his story, but so is the "glorious destiny" which he is determined to create for himself.

Johnson is a young clerk in a remote West African village under British control. Educated in a mission school, he regards himself as completely British, completely "civilized."

England is my country.
Oh, England, my home all on de big water.
Dat king of England is my King,
De best man in de worl', his heart is too big.
Oh, England my home all on de big water,

he sings as he walks to the government office where he works. But his spontaneous songs, his ecstasies, his volatile emotions, his complete absorption in the present, cut him off from England as inexorably as his education and newly learned values cut him off from the bush and the native girl he marries. He is careless and unreliable at work, "borrows" money which he has no way of repaying, evades his responsibilities and ultimately murders. Nevertheless he has lived his life on a high level, he has truly turned it into a romance, and he has a final triumph at the end. He has also affected everyone, British or African, with whom he has come into contact.

The background of the book, drawn from Cary's years as "magistrate, road builder and general Pooh-Bah of state" in British West Africa before World War I, is as real, vivid and complex as Johnson himself. Cary describes these years as "some of my happiest" and it is obvious that he has tremendous understanding of and affection for Africa and the Africans. But, in contrast to many recent books, he writes about them completely without sentimentality and without stacking the cards. The British outpost and its personnel in *Mister Johnson*, as well as the surrounding country and its inhabitants, are treated with humor and sympathy in a funny, exciting and moving book that ranks with Cary's best.

ANNE L. GOODMAN

Books in Brief

The Presidency, by Stefan Lorant (Macmillan; $15).

A "pictorial history of Presidential Elections" with more than a thousand illustrations—cartoons, engravings, pages of newspapers, photographs and the like—presenting a vivid conspectus of this country's most celebrated quadrennial carnival, competitive event and political spasm. Mr. Lorant provides a readable, unpretentious and on the whole reliable commentary, together with useful statistical data on the popular and electoral vote. A highly diverting book of its kind.

The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt. Volumes III and IV, 1901-1905. Edited by Elting E. Morison (Harvard University Press; $20).

This second installment of the Roosevelt letters (sold as a set of two, if anyone wants them independently of the preceding volumes) are of more historical importance than the first installment, since they cover part of Roosevelt's occupancy of the White House. But Volume IV ends with January, 1904, so the complete picture of Roosevelt as President is not yet available. The warm, rich personality is here, but that appeared in the first two volumes; and comment on the statesman, as revealed by the letters, should be reserved until the rest of the material is presented. G. W. J.

The American Oxford Atlas. Edited by Brigadier Sir Clinton Lewis and Colonel J. D. Campbell (Oxford; $10).

This new, postwar atlas strikes the non-professional map-user as a work of admirable usefulness and unusual beauty. The maps are large (page 15¼ by 10¼ inches), meticulously annotated and carefully scaled to one another. The principal sheets are printed in six semi-transparent inks that provide a range of twelve colors; it is attractive cartography that gives a vivid impression of topography. The pages of special topics (precipitation, vegetation, population, etc.) convey their information clearly and economically. The paper is good, the printing sharp, the binding strong. Altogether an elegant and generous volume.

The Reader's Bible (Oxford; $6.50).

According to the publishers, this volume is the only complete edition of the King James Bible available in a modern typographical arrangement of prose and verse. It is a large but wieldy book with a page size of 6 by 9½ inches and with the main text set in a clear 11-point monotype; the paper is thin but decently opaque. This edition contains the interesting preface to the first edition—"The Translators to the Reader"—often omitted in modern Bibles, as well as historical introductions to the main sections.

The pages carry running heads that indicate the chapters and verses included in each double spread, but even so the book is not a handy one for looking up references. For general reading and for literary study it should prove much superior to conventional editions.

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THEATRE

Food for Thought

IN *I Am a Camera* John van Druten appears to have turned part of Christopher Isherwood's *Berlin Stories* into a box-office success. If he were a more resolute director, van Druten might also have succeeded in turning it into a good play. The fact that the director and the author of *I Am a Camera* are the same person does not alter the circumstance: the director did not understand the quality of the script—or else he believed that only by removing any suspicion of the "morbid" could the play be put over as a commercial hit.

What van Druten presents in this story of two young English people in the Berlin of 1930 is a world at loose ends. Everybody is adrift: the girl (Sally Bowles) is escaping the empty respectability of her background by flight into an unserious career as an "actress" and an even more unserious promiscuity; other characters are a Jewish boy in flight from his racial identity, a wealthy Jewish girl alienated by her sense of being unattractive and her position as a marked victim of the approaching Nazi barbarism, a hysterically irresponsible American millionaire, an ignorant housekeeper who mixes good nature with the virus of anti-Semitism which she has picked up from the "air"—and finally a writer (the narrator), the only aware person of the lot, who is portrayed as sexually neuter, hypochrondiac, and generally impotent.

There would be no point to the retelling of this Berlin story in 1951 if it implied no general theme. But it does: the fact that these people are all basically "nice," that their sin lies in their lack of any moral anchor, that they are cut off from one another, from society and even from themselves—since the self hardly exists without the recognition of ties—makes the political violence outside them a result and a reflection of their inner disarray. The play might therefore convey, without heaviness or preachment, overtones of depth and value.

But van Druten as director would not (or does not know how to) do so. Everything is made so amusing, piquant and smart that we are led to expect entertainment in the key of Bea Lillie. The effect, to begin with, is pleasant, but later when we begin to hear talk of abortions and anti-Semitic riots, we are jarred by what seem brutal irrelevancies. It is as if in the midst of *The Voice of the Turtle* (and there is little difference in the way van Druten directed the two plays) there were repeated references to the atrocities of Buchenwald.

With this fundamental discrepancy of approach, it is difficult to keep either the text or the acting in perspective. As sheer performance, the Sally Bowles of Julie Harris, one of the most gifted actresses of our younger generation, is delightfully engaging (she is as sinful as raspberry pie), but from the standpoint of the play's meaning one does not know whether to congratulate her for making us forget the nature of the material or to scold her for turning it into something superficial. Marian Winters and Martin Brooks as the Jewish couple are also good, but their tragic dilemma is intrusive because they are not seen in relationship to what might have been the general theme and atmosphere. As written, the play has a certain unity, but as directed a distressing unevenness. It has been staged in terms of disparate scenes and effects rather than directed in terms of a central conception. There is no use speaking of photographic objectivity: a camera is always controlled by a man.

People about town are saying that the quartet of actors who read *Don Juan in Hell* (being the rarely performed two-hour interlude in Shaw's *Man and Superman*) proves that stage setting is an unnecessary element in the theatre. The remark is rubbish. The truth is that the method employed by Charles Boyer, Charles Laughton, Cedric Hardwicke and Agnes Moorehead—a simple reading over microphones in front of ordinary drapes—is the best *theatrical* presentation that could be devised for this philosophical essay in dialogue form.

Don Juan affords an evening of superb intellectual fun. Laughton and Hardwicke give particularly happy renditions. Though, in my opinion, too romantic and French for his part (the Don Juan here is GBS himself), Boyer with his beautiful voice gives an impassioned sincerity to his reading that is altogether winning.

As prose, Shaw never wrote anything more lucid or self-revealing; as thought, the reading reminds us once again that Shaw was ever on the side of the angels—an atheist only because God in his time had been taken over by the philistines. Shaw was a Puritan disguised as a devil; a mystic who tried to convince through common sense and wit, a rationalist who believed in something beyond reason. Both his thought and his art were distinguished and limited by these contradictions, but his was a great sanitary influence.

The kind of audience that might have spurned or been baffled by Shaw in 1903 now applauds him—partly because that audience needs something more than what Shaw had to say then and so can listen to him in an attitude of complacent admiration which contains none of the revolutionary disturbance he intended.

HAROLD CLURMAN

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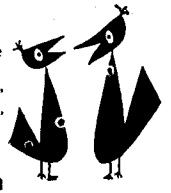

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ON THE AIR

People Are Back

THE RADIO DOCUMENTARY is coming back. On Sunday, January 6, from 10:05 to 10:30 p.m., EST, the CBS radio network will broadcast the first of at least 26 weekly programs under the title *The People Act.* This is the first important use of the sound medium by the new Television-Radio Workshop for which the Ford Foundation, through its Fund for Adult Education, has set aside $1.2 million. Heading the workshop is Robert Saudek, former vice-president in charge of public affairs for the ABC network; he is a man of real ability in the documentary field.

The People Act is to be a collection of case histories in democracy. In Arlington, Virginia, suburban commuters co-operate to defeat a political machine and win new schools for their children. In Gary, Indiana, 10,000 women organize to fight racketeers and political corruption. In the Upper Winooski Valley, in northern Vermont, sacred town limits are crossed to form a new association of six rural areas that of working together toward building a central high school and are setting up a program for more profitable timber crops. This is the program I heard.

No attempt will be made in this series to exaggerate accomplishments or to hide unpleasant facts. The people shown are the actual men and women of the communities, dealing with local problems. Dave Moore, a radio reporter and producer who has done excellent documentary work for WBBM, Chicago, and WCCO, Minneapolis, took a tape recorder to Vermont and caught the natives at their best.

Moore is one of the group working under the producer-writer of the program, Irving Gitlin, who has been for several years a staff writer at CBS and an expert science reporter. Gitlin worked closely last year with Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly in the creation and production of *Hear It Now.* Later, he did a radio series of crime exposés for CBS under the title of *The Nation's Nightmare.*

Elmore M. McKee, former Yale chaplain, is the creator of *The People Act.* With the aid of the Twentieth Century Fund, he put a number of shows on the NBC network last year under the same title; now he heads a large research staff that does field work for the new series. To help communities solve their own problems, a national committee has been set up. Heading this group is Milton S. Eisenhower, president of the State College of Pennsylvania. A special educational office to serve individuals and communities has been established at Penn State under Ray H. Smith, long active in college, civic and state administrative capacities.

These are only a few of the people involved. Another of the reporters working with Gitlin is A. R. Westin, whose tape work is magnificent. John Coburn Turner, former script editor at ABC, has been brought over into the Ford purlieus. But my advice is: Get to know these people by listening to the program.

Another radio program, unfortunately heard only locally, which has returned to the air after a two-year absence, is the prize-winning series, *New World A'Coming* (WMCA), back on its old time, Tuesdays at 9:30 p.m. The first show, *The Odyssey of the Family Ramirez,* was the story by Walter Anderson of a family's descent from farmer's status in Puerto Rico to slum-dwellers in New York. WMCA dug into its files for this one, which had been done on *New World* several years ago. However, the production was good, Jackson Beck and Gregory Morton in the lead roles were excellent, and the story itself is worth retelling.

Latest statistics show that 96 percent of all radio programming on local stations, and 29 percent of programming on the radio networks, are transcribed material. Television has given the radio disc jockey more prominence than ever. But with the help of the Ford Foundation nationally, and an occasional local job by a station like WMCA, radio may yet be saved. SAUL CARSON

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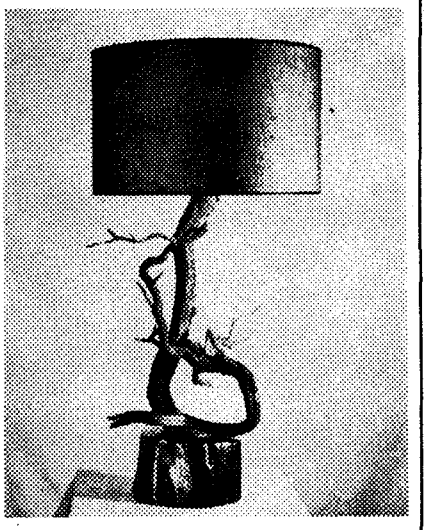
DRAMA in WOOD



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